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THE DATE OF HIJRAH

F. A. Shamsi

I: THE PROBLEM

In his letter to *The Pakistan Times*, Rawalpindi (dated Thursday 19 Sha‘bān 1403 A.H. corresponding to 2-6-1983 A.D.), while emphasizing the importance of Hijrah (i.e. the migration of Prophet Muhammad, may peace be upon him, from Mecca to Medina), a correspondent stated that Muslim scholars were deplorably in disagreement regarding the date of this momentous event and quoted various dates ranging from 28-6-622 A.D. to 23-9-622 A.D. as given by some recent Muslim scholars. (Mercifully, the learned correspondent did not mention the even earlier date of 31-5-622 given by Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah or the even later date of 22-11-622 A.D. given by Moulvi Ishaq al-Nabi.) The scholars quoted do give different dates, but it is only because there has been a similar difference in dating this great event by the earliest Muslim scholars whose works are still extant. Thus, the earliest traditionist and historian and a younger Companion (*Ṣaḥābi*), Hazrat ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās (d. 68 A.H./687-8 A.D.), in a report carried by Imām Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hanbal (b. 164/780-1; d. 241/855-6), says that the Prophet left Mecca on a Monday,¹ the great traditionist al-Ḥākim (d. 405/1014-5) reportedly says that there is a *tawatur* in the report (i.e. many persons of each generation have reported) that *khurūj* (i.e. exit from Mecca) was on a Monday², and the great early Maghazi writer and historian Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Barr (b. 368/978-9; d. 463/1070-1) says that God permitted the Prophet to migrate on a Monday;³ yet Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Barā’ (?) apud Ibn al-Jawzī⁴ (b. ca 508/1114-5; d. 597/1200-1), and, Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī (b. ca. 165/781-2; d. 232/846-7), the title of one of whose books (*Al-Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar fī ḥisāb al-jabr wa al-muqābalah*) has bestowed a branch of Mathematics its name (Algebra), apud Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (b. 773/1371-2; d. 852/1448-9), al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1505-6), and al-Qaṣṣalānī (b. ca. 847/1443-4; d. 923/1517-8)⁵, say that the Prophet left Mecca on a Thursday.

According to most narrators, including Hazrat (Ḥaḍrat) ‘Umar, Hazrat ‘Alī, Ibn ‘Abbas, Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraṣī, Wabb b.

Munabbih (b. 34/654-5; d. 114/732-3), the remains of whose book are the earliest extant written records of Maghāzī (Expeditions of the Prophet), and, the early Maghazi writer Mūsā b. 'Uqbah (d. 141/758-9), the Prophet left his house at night.⁶ But, Ibn Ishāq (d. ca. 151/768), one of the earliest and the greatest of all Sirah writers (i.e. biographers of the Prophet), and, Imām Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (194/810—256/870) carry a report from no less a person than Hazrat Aisha, daughter of Hazrat Abu Bakr and wife of the Prophet, according to which the Prophet left his house during daytime.⁷

According to all narrators, the Prophet went to a cave in the hillock of Thawr⁸ at a distance of about 5 miles from Mecca.⁹ But, while most reporters, including Hazrat Abu Bakr's two daughters, Hazrat Asmā' and Hazrat Aisha, and the Companions, Ibn 'Abbas and Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, say that he stayed in the Cave for 3 nights,¹⁰ 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr (b. ca. 26/646-7; d. 94/712-3), son of Hazrat Asma' and nephew of Hazrat Aisha, who often reports from Hazrat Aisha, is reported by Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani as having stated that the Prophet stayed in the Cave for two nights,¹¹ and Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Diyārbakirī (d. ca. 966/1558-9) appears to say that Musa b. 'Uqbah in his *Al-Wafā'* reports from Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (b. 58/677-8; d. 124/741-2) that the Prophet left the Cave sometime during the night of his arrival there.¹²

According to Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb (53/673—128/745-6), the Prophet left Mecca in Safar;¹³ on the 26th of Safar, according to the Umayyad Qadi and Governor of Medina, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm (d. ca. 120/783), and the Sirah writer Ibn al-Jawzi.¹⁴ Ibn Ishaq, Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd b. Abān al-Umawī (d. 194/809-10) the great Maghazi writer, Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d. 204/819-20) the great historian son of a great exegete and traditionist father, are said to have given the date of 1 Rabi' al-Awwal.¹⁵ Al-Maqrīzī (b. 766/1364-5; d. 845/1441-2) adopts the date of 4 Rabi' I.¹⁶ Ibn Sa'd, apparently on the authority of 'Abd al-Malik (Sulaymān b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Allāh) b. Wahb (al-Nakha'i) al-Madhḥajī (2nd century A.H./8th-9th century A.D.), gives the date of 5 Rabi' I.¹⁷ And, al-Ya'murī (b. 671/1272-3; d. 734/1333-4), the Sirah writer, is said by al-Diyarbakiri to have given the (even later) date of 8 Rabi' I.¹⁸

One of the greatest of early Muslim scholars, al-Zuhrī, in one report (that of Musa b. 'Uqbah, apud Ibn Hajar, etc.) says that the Prophet reached Qubā' (in the environs of Medina) on 1 Rabi'I, and, Hazrat Ibn Abbas, according to a tradition carried by Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī (d. 430/1038-9), says that the Prophet entered Medina on 1 Rabi'I.¹⁹ Ibn Ishaq, in one report (that of Jarīr b. Ḥāzim, d. ca. 170/786-7), Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ (d. 170/786-7), and, Ibn al-Barqī (d. 249/863-4), say that the Prophet arrived in Medina on the 2nd. of Rabi' al-Awwal.²⁰ Ibn Hajar, al-Samhudi and al-Qastalani state that it is also said that the Prophet reached Medina on 7 Rabi'I.²¹ The great early jurist, 'Āmir al-Sha'bī (b. ca. 19/640; d. ca. 103/721-2), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīrah (b. ca. 150/767), Muhammad b. Musa al-Khwarizmi, and the early historian al-Ya'qūbī (d. ca. 292/904-5) are reported to have given the date of 8 Rabi'I,²² and, while al-Hākim (according to al-Samhudi) says that reports regarding this date have come with *tawatur*,²³ Abū al-Rayḥān al-Bayrūnī (362/973—ca. 443/1051), one of the greatest scholars of all time, reports a general agreement on this date.²⁴ Al-Ṭabraṣī (6th century A.H.), a well known traditionist and jurisprudent, gives the date of 11 Rabi'I.²⁵ Al-Zuhri (according to Ibn al-Jawzi), Ibn Ishaq [according to Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd (b. ca. 108/726-7; d. ca. 183/799-800) as well as Ibn Hisham (d. 218/833)], Yahya b. Sa'id b. Aban al-Umawi, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Wāqid, better known as al-Wāqidī (b. ca. 130/747-8; d. ca. 207/822), Ibn al-Kalbi, Muhammad b. Sa'd (d. ca. 230/844-5) and, to cut the list short, the great historian and exegete, Muhammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (b. 224/838-9; d. 310/922-3) give the date of 12 Rabi'I,²⁶ and, Ibn Sa'd says that there is a consensus on this date.²⁷ According to Ibn Hajar and al-Qastalani, Abū Sa'id ('Abd al-Malik al-Kharkūshī al-Naysābūrī, d. 407/1016-17) says that Abu Bakr b. Hazm gives the date of 13 Rabi'I.²⁸ And, according to Ibn Hajar and al-Samhūdī, Abu Sa'id (al-Naysaburī) reports the date of 28 Rabi'I, it appears, from no less a person than Hazrat Umar.²⁹

Ibn 'Abbas, 'Urwah, Ibn Ishaq, al-Waqidi, Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabari, and practically all later writers say that the Prophet reached Medina on a Monday.³⁰ But al-Ya'qubi reports that it is also said that the Prophet reached Medina on Thursday (12 Rabi'I);³¹ and, Ibn al-Kalbi reportedly gives Friday (12 Rabi'I) as the day of arrival in Medina.³²

According to 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, Ibn Ishaq, and Ibn Sa'd, etc., the Prophet reached Medina at about the time of noon.³³ But, Abu

Ma'shar Najih (according to Ibn Hajar and al-Qastalani) and Ibn al-Barqi (according to Ibn Hajar and Mughaltā'i) say that the Prophet reached Medina at night;³⁴ Hazrat 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd b. Jāriyah is reported by Mujammi' b. Ya'qūb (d. ca. 170/786-7) apud al-Samhudi to have said that the Prophet reached Medina before sunrise and performed the Fajr (Dawn) prayers at al-Ḥarrah (a lava tract in Yathrib);³⁵ and, above all, 'Urwah's grandfather, Hazrat Abu Bakr himself, reportedly states that the Prophet reached Medina at night.³⁶

According to Hazrat Aisha, Hazrat Ṣafīyah, Hazrat Mujammi' b. Yazīd b. Jāriyah, Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas, Hazrat 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, Hazrat Anas, 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, Abu Bakr b. Hazm, al-Zuhri, and all later writers including Ibn Ishaq, Ibn Ḥibbān, Musa b. 'Uqbah, al-Waqidi, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and Ibn Sa'd, on reaching Medina the Prophet stayed with Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf (a clan of the tribe of al-Aws which had its habitation in Quba) for some days before shifting to the house of Hazrat Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (with whom he resided till the Mosque of the Prophet was built).³⁷ But, Hazrat Aisha's father and 'Urwah's grandfather, Hazrat Abu Bakr, who had accompanied the Prophet and was an eye witness to all that had transpired, reportedly says that on reaching Medina the Prophet decided to alight at Banū al-Najjār³⁸ (a clan of the tribe of al-Khazraj, which only five years or so earlier had fought the famous battle of Bu'āth against the tribe of al-Aws).

Among those narrators who hold that the Prophet stayed with Banu Amr b. Awf for some days, there is a difference of opinion regarding the person with whom the Prophet resided. According to most writers including Ibn Ishaq, the Prophet stayed with Hazrat Kulthūm b. al-Hidum.³⁸ But, Abu Bakr b. Hazm, from whose son ('Abd Allāh b. Abu Bakr b. Hazm) Ibn Ishaq often narrates, is among those who say that the Prophet stayed with Hazrat Sa'd b. Khaythamah,³⁹ who was unmarried and whose house was called *Bachelors' Lodge*.

We have no unanimity regarding the period of the Prophet's stay with Banu Amr b. Awf in Quba either. According to Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas (apud Ibn 'Ā'idh apud Ibn Hajar), al-Zuhri (apud Musa b. 'Uqbah apud Ibn Hajar), and (Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad) Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965), the Prophet stayed with them for 3 days.⁴⁰ According to Ibn Ishaq (in all but one report) and most later writers, the Prophet stayed with them for

4 days.⁴¹ According to Ibn Hajar, Ibn Ishāq had stated that the Prophet stayed with them for 5 days.⁴² Hazrat Aisha and 'Urwah reportedly say that the Prophet stayed with them for biḍ 'ah 'asharah laylah⁴³ (meaning, 13 to 19 days). According to a report in Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Ishāq says that Banu Amr b. Awf claim that the Prophet had stayed with them for 12 days.⁴⁴ Hazrat Anas b. Mālik, who was 9 or 10 years old at the time of the Prophet's migration and served the Prophet from the day of his arrival in Medina,⁴⁵ says that the Prophet lived with Banu Amr b. Awf for 14 days.⁴⁶ Hazrat Mujammi' b. Yazid b. Jariyah is reported to have said that the Prophet had stayed with Banu Amr b. Awf for 22 days.⁴⁷

In his *Āthār*, the great work of his youthful days, al-Bayruni argues that the Prophet must have reached Medina on 8 Rabi'ī since there is a consensus that the day of arrival was a Monday, and of the three reported dates of 2, 8, and 12 Rabi'ī, only 8 Rabi'ī is a Monday in 1 A.H.⁴⁸ But, in his *Canon Masudicus*, the magnum opus of his mature years, al-Bayruni gives 12 Rabi'ī as the date of arrival in Medina.⁴⁹ Caussin de Perceval, one of the greatest western scholars of Islamic history, has worked out a calendar in keeping with reports by competent Muslim scholars regarding the character of the pre-Islamic Arabian calendar. In Perceval's calendar, 12 Rabi'ī in year 211 is a Monday and corresponds to 28-6-622 A.D., a date which, Perceval points out, agrees with the report carried by Ibn Ishāq that the heat was inconvenient at the time when the Prophet reached Medina.⁵⁰ Maḥmūd Pāshā al-Falakī argues that the pre-Islamic Arabian calendar must have been a (vaguely) lunar calendar with which the Hijrah calendar is in continuity,⁵¹ and that the Prophet must have arrived in Quba on 8 Rabi'ī in view of the facts that there is a consensus on Monday having been the day of arrival and of the reported dates of 2, 8, and 12 Rabi'ī only 8 Rabi'ī is a Monday.⁵² He also claims that there is a tradition from Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas according to which the Prophet reached Medina on the day of 'Ashūrā', and argues that it must have been the Jewish Day of 'Ashūrā', observed by them on the 10th of Tishri, which in the first year of Hijrah corresponds to 8 Rabi'ī.⁵³ Dr. Hamidullah holds that the pre-Islamic Arabian calendar was luni-solar and was abrogated on the occasion of the Farewell Pilgrimage and was replaced by the (vaguely) lunar Hijrah calendar in use among the Muslims in (what became) 10. A.H.⁵⁴ Dr. Hamidullah too has worked out a luni-solar calendar in which 12 Rabi'ī in the (luni-solar) year of Hijrah is a Monday

and corresponds to 31-5-622 A.D.⁵⁵ Dr. Hashim Amir Ali holds that the Prophet spent his whole life under the luni-solar calendar of the Arabs which remained in force till Hazrat Abu Bakr abolished the system of intercalation in (what has become) 11 A.H.⁵⁶ Moulvi Ishāq al-Nabī, whose has been the most comprehensive consideration of the chronological problems besetting the reported dates of events in the life of the Prophet, holds (as had Silvestre de Sacy and some other western scholars held before him⁵⁷) that at the advent of Islam there were two calendars in vogue among the Arabs, a (vaguely) lunar calendar (according to de Sacy, among the Meccans, and, according to Moulvi Ishaq Nabi, among the people of Medina) and a luni-solar calendar (among the Meccans, according to Moulvi Ishaq al-Nabi, and, among the Medinese, according to de Sacy), and that the dates of events in the life of the Prophet were recorded by some scholars in terms of the Meccan and by others in terms of the Medinese calendar.⁵⁸ He further holds that the event of Hijrah was recorded in terms of the (luni-solar) Meccan calendar.⁵⁹ Moulvi Ishaq al-Nabi has worked out a luni-solar calendar in which 12 Rabi 'I in the year of hijrah is a Monday.⁶⁰ He further points out that there are a number of traditions which indicate that the pagan Arabs used to have an 'Ashūrā' of their own, and holds that the Fast of Ashura in question pertains to the second and not to the first year of Hijrah.⁶¹

In fine, it appears as if we cannot say on what date did the Prophet leave Mecca or reach Medina and that we are doomed to wallow in the quagmire of confusion and be obliged to accept dates we chance to be presented with first or in a book we happen to regard as more reliable or authoritative.

It is submitted that, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, we can wade through the conflicting reports and arrive at dates which are so certain that they leave no reasonable doubt in the mind of the student.

II : THE DAY OF HIJRAH

On one point there is complete unanimity : on leaving his house in Mecca, the Prophet went to a cave in the Mount of Thawr and stayed there for some days before proceeding to Medina. This mountain lies to the south of Mecca at a distance of about five miles from it whereas Medina lies to the north of Mecca. A question therefore arises as to what did the

early narrators mean when they stated that such and such was the day or the date of departure from Mecca or of departure for Medina: did they mean departure from home in Mecca, or departure from the Cave of Thawr? On the face of it, it seems most probable that departure from Mecca for the Cave of Thawr is what is meant by departure from Mecca or departure for Medina. For, while in the Cave, the Prophet should be regarded as on his way to Medina, specially because, it seems, the Mount of Thawr could not have been regarded as a part of Mecca. But the stay in the Cave, in the opposite direction to Medina, could be regarded as a period of waiting before the actual departure for Medina. For, one would have to cross Mecca, i.e. Mecca's latitude, if one were going from Mount Thawr to Medina even by the seacoast route. In fact, in describing the journey, Ibn Ishaq says that their guide took them to the lowlands (Asfal) of Mecca and then to the seacoast, i.e., on their way to Medina from the Cave, the Prophet and Hazrat Abu Bakr actually passed through a region which was undoubtedly regarded as a part of Mecca.¹ Moreover, we have no positive statement that Mount Thawr was not included in Mecca. It is not being contended that 'departure from Mecca' (or for Medina) *must* be taken to mean departure from the Cave. We are at present only contending that this expression should be regarded as ambiguous and the possibility that the early narrators may have meant departure from the Cave should not be discountenanced.

We know from early writers that during the period of heathenism the Quraysh used to open the Ka'bah on Mondays and Thursdays.² There is reason to believe that the Arabs used to fast on Mondays and Thursdays.³ It seems to be a fair inference that the Arabs used to hold special prayers in the House on those two days and that these prayers used to be largely attended ones. Now, Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas reportedly says that the Quraysh held their meeting to decide about the Prophet on Yawm al-Zahmah (the day of the throng/crowd).⁴ So far as I am aware, no one has ever explained what used to be meant, or what did Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas mean, by this expression. But, in the light of the reports regarding the opening of the House and fasting on certain days of the week, I think, the explanation is clear : It was a day on which the heathen crowds used to assemble in the House for worship. If so, the day on which the Meeting was held must have been a Monday or a Thursday. Our inference gains

considerable strength from the fact that the Prophet is said to have left Mecca on the day the meeting was held, and only two days, viz., Monday and Thursday, have ever been reported as the day of departure from Mecca.⁵ We shall therefore take it for granted that the day on which the Quraysh held their meeting and the Prophet left his house and went to the Cave of Thawr must have been a Monday or a Thursday.

Now, distinguishing between departure from home in Mecca and departure from the Cave of Thawr, let us look afresh at the early reports. We find that as far as the days (as distinguished from the dates) of departure from home and the Cave are concerned, there are two possibilities.

Firstly, the Prophet left Mecca proper on a Monday, stayed in the Cave of Thawr for two days, Tuesday and Wednesday, and left the Cave on the following Thursday. This construction can account for (i) the tawatur in the report that the Prophet left Mecca on a Monday (here assuming that 'left Mecca' means left Mecca proper, i.e. home, for the Cave), (ii) al-Khwarizmi's reported statement that the Prophet left Mecca on a Thursday (assuming that al-Khwarizmi meant the actual departure for Medina i.e. from the Cave), (iii) the reports that the Meeting in Dar al-Nadwah took place on the Day of Zahmah and the Prophet left his house the same day, the Quraysh used to open the Ka'bah on Mondays and Thursdays and the pagan Arabs used to fast on Mondays and Thursdays, (iv) 'Urwah's reported statement that the Prophet stayed in the Cave for two days, and (v) the statement of many early narrators that the Prophet left Mecca (here, the Cave) on 1 Rabi 'I and reached Medina on Monday 12 Rabi 'I (hence the day of departure from the Cave must have been a Thursday⁶).

The *second alternative* is that the Prophet left Mecca proper on a Thursday, stayed in the Cave for three days, and left the Cave on the following Monday. This accounts for (i) the reports that suggest that the Qurayshite Meeting took place on a Monday or a Thursday, (ii) al-Khwarizmi's statement that the Prophet left Mecca (here Mecca proper) on a Thursday as well as the tawatur in the report that he left Mecca (here the Cave) on a Monday, and al-Hakim and/or Ibn Hajar's construction (departure from home on a Thursday and from the Cave on the following Monday)⁷, (iii) Abu Bakr ' b. Hazm's reported statement that the Prophet

left Mecca (here home) on 26 Safar (26-2-1 A.H. is a Thursday⁸), (iv) Hazrat Asma's as well as Hazrat Aisha's report that the Prophet stayed in the Cave for 3 days, (v) reports that the Prophet left the Cave of Thawr on a Monday,⁹ and (vi) the reports that the Prophet left the Cave on 1 Rabi' I¹⁰ (1.3.1 A.H. is a Monday¹¹).

It may be mentioned that no third consistent set of days such that each day of the set is supported by an early authority is possible. (i) No other day than Monday or Thursday has ever been reported for departure from Mecca. Hence, we cannot adopt any other day as the day of departure from Mecca; that is, either the day of departure from home or the day of departure from the Cave must be taken to be a Monday or a Thursday. (ii) Except for a solitary report by Ṭalḥah al-Naḍarī that the Prophet stayed in the Cave of Thawr for more than twelve days,¹² all other reports either mention 3 or mention 2 days' stay. Al-Hakim's explanation of Talhah's report that it means the period of hiding including the period of journey¹³ is not very satisfactory; but, some such explanation is necessary, for, in itself, the report does not make much sense (i.e. why should the emigres have stayed in a very small cave for so long, why should they have remained undetected for so many days, and why should Hazrat Ali have reached Medina *after* the Prophet when he had left Mecca only 3 days after the Prophet had left Mecca?), and, is contradicted by very authoritative reports. Hence, we are restricted to giving 2 or 3 days to the stay in the Cave. Therefore, if we were to adopt any other day than Thursday or Monday as the day of departure from home in Mecca, the day of departure from the Cave will neither be a Thursday nor be a Monday, and so neither Monday nor Thursday would be the day of departure in any sense. (For example, if we take Saturday as the day of departure from home, then either Tuesday or Wednesday will have to be the day of departure from the Cave, and so neither Thursday nor Monday will be the day of departure either from home or from the Cave. If so, in no sense could Thursday or Monday be said to be the day of departure from Mecca.)

Now we have to choose between the two alternative sets of days given above. The choice, happily, is easy. We have to reject the first alternative (that the Qurayshite meeting took place on a Monday, the Prophet left Mecca proper the same day and left the Cave of Thawr on a Thursday) and accept the second alternative on the following grounds.

(1) Almost every writer who specifically mentions the day of departure from the Cave, e.g. al-Madhhaji, Ibn al-Kalbi and al-Maqrizi, gives Monday as the day of departure therefrom.¹⁴ Al-Khwarizmi gives Thursday as the day of departure from Mecca but without specifying whether it is departure from home in Mecca or from the Cave. Since al-Hakim/Ibn Hajar reconciles al-Khwarizmi's statement with the consensus on Monday by supposing that Thursday was the day of departure from home, it is clear that al-Khwarizmi had at least not given this day as the day of departure from the Cave. Ibn al-Jawzi, however, reports Abu al-Hasan b. al-Bara' as having stated that the Prophet left the Cave on Thursday night 1 Rabi' I. This is the only statement of its kind known to me. Ibn al-Jawzi does not give his source for this report from Abu al-Hasan nor the source for Abu al-Hasan's information. In any case, Abu al-Hasan's statement can hardly be accepted as against the statements of al-Madhhaji and Ibn al-Kalbi. Moreover, there is a simple explanation for Abu al-Hasan's statement : very authoritative scholars say that the Prophet left the Cave on 1 Rabi' I and reached Medina on Monday 12 Rabi' I; if 12 Rabi' I is a Monday, then 1 Rabi' I must have been a Thursday. That is, Abu al-Hasan only added the day of the week to the most acceptable date for the departure from the Cave, naturally disregarding the reports of departure on a Monday on the ground of computational impossibility. (Only Ibn al-Kalbi makes out 12 Rabi' I to be a Friday; otherwise, in all other early reports, 12 Rabi' I is given out to be a Monday.)

(2) Ibn Sa'd reports from al-Madhhaji that the Prophet was in Qudayd on a Tuesday.¹⁵ From Ibn Sa'd's statement it appears to be the day following the Monday on which the Prophet departed from the Cave. If the Prophet would have left the Cave on a Thursday, he would in that case have taken four days if not eleven or more days in reaching Qudayd. But, if his departure from the Cave was on a Monday, then his arrival in Qudayd on a Tuesday would mean that he took only one day to do so. Now, Qudayd is at about 60 miles from Mecca.¹⁶ Taking 4 days for these 60 miles would require an explanation especially in view of the fact that we have a report from Hazrat Abu Bakr himself (via Hazrat al-Bara' b. 'Azib) that the night he and the Prophet had left Mecca (obviously meaning the Cave of Thawr) for Medina, they had travelled for the whole night and the following day till noon and again took to the road at about sunset,¹⁷ and, presumably, travelled again for the whole night. If the Prophet had left the Cave on Monday night soon after the sunset (following the day of Sun-

day) and had rode on for almost the whole nights of Monday and Tuesday (i.e. the nights between Sunday and Monday and between Monday and Tuesday), then no explanation is at all required for reaching Qudayd on Tuesday, even at the time of dawn. (In the reports that we have, the Prophet is found there only at about noontime.¹⁸)

(3) Whether the Prophet left his house at night or during daytime, there is no doubt about his having reached the Cave of Thawr at night.¹⁹ There is again no doubt about his having departed from the Cave at night,²⁰ and, we have mentioned a report from Hazrat Abu Bakr from which it is clear that the Prophet had departed from the Cave of Thawr soon after the sunset.²¹ If the Qurayshite meeting took place on a Monday, then the Prophet came to the Cave on Tuesday night (the night between Monday and Tuesday) and left the Cave on Thursday night. This means that the Prophet stayed in the Cave for 2 nights (i.e. *dies*), those of Tuesday and Wednesday. Now, although Ibn Hajar mentions 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr as having stated that the Prophet remained in the Cave for 2 nights and al-Samhudi *et als* do say that it is also reported that the Prophet stayed in the Cave for 2 nights, as far as I know no early scholar other than 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr has been reported for this opinion, and only Ibn Hajar has quoted 'Urwah for this view. Now, Imam al-Bukhari carries a report from Yahya b. Bukayr from al-Layth from 'Uqayl from al-Zuhri to the effect that '**Urwah b. al-Zubayr** reports from Hazrat Aisha that the Prophet and Hazrat Abu Bakr stayed in the Cave for 3 nights, and, al-Tabari carries a report ultimately from '**Urwah b. al-Zubayr** in which 'Urwah says that 'during the nights he stayed in the Cave' (fī al-*liyālī* makatha bi-al-ghār)²², which means three or more nights since the plural form is used in Arabic for 3 or more objects. Hence, it is clear that Ibn Hajar or his source has made a mistake here. In any case, even if we assume that 'Urwah did state what Ibn Hajar reports from him, 'Urwah's report cannot be accepted in the teeth of reports from his mother and his aunt. (If the Prophet is taken to have left his house on Thursday and to have reached the Cave on Friday night soon after the sunset and to have left the Cave on Monday night soon after the sunset, his stay in the Cave would be for 3 nights/*dies*, those of Friday, Saturday and Sunday.) If so, the construction that the Prophet left his house on a Monday and the Cave on a Thursday becomes untenable.

We therefore come to the conclusion that no matter whether or not the *date* of departure from Mecca can be determined, the *day* of departure

stands established, and that it is quite certain that the Qurayshite meeting took place in the morning on a Thursday, the Prophet left his house the same day, reached the Cave of Thawr a little after the sunset on Friday night, remained in the Cave for 3 days—the days of Friday, Saturday and Sunday—and departed from the Cave on Monday night soon after the sunset.

We shall now take up the question regarding the day of arrival in Medina. The reports, as we saw earlier, present a picture of confusion worse confounded, there being no unanimity regarding the day or the date of arrival or even regarding the actual habitation in Yathrib to which the Prophet came or the time at which he arrived in Yathrib.

It may here be mentioned that Medina and Quba' are the names of two mutually exclusive habitations, the latter being at a distance of about 2 miles to the south of the former. At the time of Hijrah, Yathrib was the name of a vast region of about 100 square miles of which some 16 square miles in the centre began to be called Madīnah al-Nabī or simply al-Madīnah. The habitation of Quba' was a part of Yathrib. However, it appears that some Muslims, possibly even in the time of the Prophet, began to use Yathrib and Medina interchangeably. Thus, for some people Medina and Quba' were the names of mutually exclusive regions, while for some others Medina included Quba'. Perhaps the main source of conflicting reports is this unfortunate practice. Thus far we had ourselves not observed the distinction; but from now on we shall use Medina and Quba' as the names of two different localities, both included in Yathrib.

It we assume that most early reports if not all are true and err only in being confused or partial truths, then we arrive at the following construction.²³

The Prophet reached a lava tract in Yathrib, called Al-Ḥarrah al-Wabarah, on a Monday night a little before the dawn, performed the Dawn (Fajr) prayer there, then went to Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf's habitation in Quba', reaching there before the sun rose that day. He alighted at Hazrat Sa'd b. Khaythamah's and remained there during daytime; after the sunset he repaired to Hazrat Kulthum b. al-Hidum's and lived with him for so long as he resided in Quba'. He remained in Quba' for four days, Monday to Thursday, before visiting Medina on the following Friday. The Prophet

came to Medina for the first time after migrating from Mecca on Friday (the 5th day since his arrival in Yathrib) and performed the Jum'ah prayer in the quarters of Banū Sālim in Wādī Rānūnā in Medina proper. The Prophet returned to Quba' and stayed there for another ten days. Then on Monday the 15th day since his arrival in Yathrib, the Prophet shifted his residence to Hazrat Abu Ayyub al-Ansari's house in the habitation of Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār in Medina, having that day passed by various settlements in Medina, and having selected a site for his great Mosque.²⁴

Let us now consider reports that appear to be contrary to the above account. This discussion, we believe, will justify both the account given above and the apparently illogical procedure adopted in presenting the conclusion without first discussing the data on which the conclusion is supposedly based.

(A) Hazrat al-Barā' is reported to have said inter alia that Hazrat Abu Bakr stated to him and his father, Hazrat 'Āzib, that when he and the Prophet reached Medina the people disagreed as to with whom the Prophet should reside whereupon the Prophet said that he would alight at Banu al-Najjar, and the next morning he moved out to the place God directed him to.²⁵

This part of Hazrat al-Bara's reported statement cannot be accepted for the following reasons.

(1) There are too many verbal differences in the reports of various narrators of this tradition which shows that either the tradition was oral or that the later narrators took liberties with it.

(2) In this tradition only Banu al-Najjar have been mentioned. Now, there were many clans of Banu al-Najjar, such as Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār, 'Adī b. al-Najjar and Māzin b. al-Najjar, etc., each having a separate habitation. But the particular clan with whom the Prophet decided to stay has not been mentioned. In fact, one would expect the name of that person to be mentioned with whom the Prophet had decided to reside. But there is no mention of such a person.

(3) According to this report, the Prophet stayed with Banu al-Najjar for one night and the next morning he did as he was directed by God

to do. The report does not tell us what precisely did the Prophet do the next morning, which implies that it was well known what had happened. This seems to imply that the stay in Quba' was well known and this report was only meant to give the credit of first hospitality to Banu al-Najjar and to deprive Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf of this honour. Hence the report becomes suspect on this account. (According to Ibn Sa'd, Hazrat al-Bara's mother belonged to Banu al-Najjar and his father to Banu al-Harith b. al-Khazraj — both Khazrajite clans.²⁶ The Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf were an Awsite clan, and there was considerable amount of jealousy between the Khazrajites and the Awsites.) Moreover, it appears very strange that God should direct His Prophet in this regard only after the Prophet decides on his own that he would stay with Banu al-Najjar, unless one were willing to suppose that God had directed stay with Banu 'Amr but the Prophet disregarded the command. Furthermore, it is also strange that the Prophet should decide to stay with Banu al-Najjar for one night only specially in view of the fact that only a few days thereafter he came back to Banu (Malik b.) al-Najjar, stayed for seven months with them and built his Mosque in their habitation.

(4) Most Muhajirs (emigrees), if not all, were putting up in Quba' when the Prophet came to Yathrib.²⁷ This also indicates that the Prophet had intended to come to Quba' from Mecca.

(5) We have very authoritative reports that the Prophet came to Quba' and resided with Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf before shifting to Hazrat Abu Ayyub's house in Medina.

In al-Hakim's *Al-Mustadrak*, we have a tradition going back to Hazrat Aisha in which the stations on the way from Mecca to Quba' have been given ending up with the statement that the Prophet reached Quba' and stayed with Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf.²⁸ Ibn Ishaq is one of the chain of narrators of this tradition. This description of the journey is the same as the one given by Ibn Hisham from Ibn Ishaq, if allowances are made for errors in reading the text and knowledge/ignorance of the names of the places mentioned.²⁹ Ibn Hajar says that al-Zubayr b. Bakkar had carried a report from Hazrat Aisha in which all the stations upto Quba' had been mentioned.³⁰

According to Ibn Hajar, Ibn 'A'idh in a tradition from Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas had described the journey station by station upto Quba'.³¹

We have a report from Hazrat Safiyah, wife of the Prophet and daughter of Huyayy b. Akhtab that her father and her uncle went to see the Prophet when the Prophet came to Medina (i.e. Yathrib) and alighted at Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf.³²

We have a report from Hazrat 'Abd Allah b. Salam to the same effect, viz., that on reaching Medina the Prophet alighted at Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf.³³

In a tradition carried by Imam al-Bukhari, 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr, describing the Prophet's arrival in Yathrib, says that the Prophet came to Quba' and resided with Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf for more than 12 days.³⁴

Above all, we have a tradition from Hazrat Anas which is very explicit and exact: when the Prophet came to Medina (i.e. Yathrib) he alighted at the clan of Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf in the highlands of Medina (i.e., Yathrib) and resided with them for 14 days.³⁵

Imam al-Bukhari accepts a large portion of the report but does not accept the impugned part of the report. We can understand why Imam al-Bukhari should have failed to report this part of the tradition.

We therefore conclude that the Prophet reached Quba' and stayed with Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf and that the tradition that the Prophet reached Medina and stayed with Banu al-Najjar must be rejected, for, no reasonable reconciliation is possible between the two reports.

(B) According to Ibn Ishaq, Ibn Sa'd, and all later writers, on reaching Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf, the Prophet alighted at Hazrat Kulthum b. al-Hidum's. But, according to our account, the Prophet alighted at Hazrat Sa'd b. Khaythamah's and, only after spending the daytime with him, shifted to Hazrat Kulthum's.

There must have been reports from some Companions that the Prophet had alighted at Hazrat Sa'd's. Yahya (b. al-Hasan b Ja'far al-'Alawi) al-Husayni (214/829—277/890) says that a group of people hold that the Prophet had alighted at Hazrat Sa'd b. Khaythamah's.³⁶ Abu Bakr b. Hazm reportedly says that the Prophet came to Quba' on a Monday and alighted at Hazrat Sa'd b. Khaythamah's.³⁷ Ibn Ishaq (with some reservation) and Ibn Sa'd hold that the Prophet alighted at Hazrat

Kulthum's, but say that it is also reported that he alighted at Hazrat Sa'd's.³⁸ Ibn Ishaq says that those who hold that he alighted at Hazrat Kulthum's explain the other report by saying that the Prophet used to meet people at Hazrat Sa'd's house who was a bachelor and whose house was called Bachelors' Lodge, and Ibn Habib (according to Ibn al-Jawzi) actually adopts this position.³⁹ These statements show that in the earliest reports there was a conflict on this point, some saying 'alighted at Hazrat Sa'd's' and some saying 'alighted at Hazrat Kulthum's', and that some later narrator reconciled the two reports with the aid of the report that Hazrat Sa'd was a bachelor and his house was called Bachelors' Lodge, and that the Prophet used to meet with people at Hazrat Sa'd's: stayed with Hazrat Kulthum but used to meet with people at Hazrat Sa'd's. We have arrived at a different reconciliation, in view of another conflict. There is an authoritative report regarding stay in Quba' (in our view before visiting Medina), viz., that he stayed there for four days. Ibn Ishaq, al-Waqidi, Ibn Sa'd and al-Tabari, etc., report four days' stay in Quba', and name these as Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.⁴⁰ This is corroborated by two well authenticated statements, viz., that (i) the Prophet reached Medina (i.e. Yathrib)/Quba' on a Monday, and that (ii) the Prophet came to Medina from Quba' on a Friday and performed Jum'ah prayer in Banu Salim (as stated, among others, by 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr apud Abu al-Aswad apud Ibn Hajar, Ibn 'A'idh apud Ibn Hajar probably on the authority of Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn Ishaq, al-Waqidi, Ibn Habib al-Hashimi apud Ibn al-Jawzi, and al-Tabari).⁴⁰ Nevertheless, according to Ibn Hajar, Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas and al-Zuhri are reported by Ibn 'A'idh and Musa b. 'Uqbah, respectively, to have stated that the Prophet lived among Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf (in Quba') for 3 days, and, Ibn Hibban reportedly says that the Prophet stayed in Quba' on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday.⁴¹ Our wonder increases when we consider that Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas reportedly says that the Prophet came to Medina (obviously meaning Yathrib) on a Monday⁴² and that Ibn 'A'idh, who was reporting from Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas the anecdote of Hijrah, says that the Prophet came out of Quba' on Friday and performed Jum'ah prayer in Banu Salim.⁴³ Ibn Hajar supposes that Musa b. 'Uqbah and Ibn Hibban did not take the days of arrival and departure into consideration.⁴⁴ This explanation does not appeal to me, for, I fail to see why the day of arrival should be excluded from the period of stay.

This conflict, as well as the former one, both get reconciled by a simple assumption : on reaching Quba', the Prophet alighted at Hazrat

Sa'd's and remained there during the daytime, then went to Hazrat Kulthum's at the time of sunset, and that probably he used to remain at Hazrat Sa'd's for sometime during daytime every day for so long as he remained in Quba'. That is, we assume that Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas, and probably Ibn 'A'idh, and possibly al-Zuhri and Musa b. 'Uqbah, had stated that the Prophet remained with Hazrat Kulthum for 3 days before coming to Medina, which was turned into a wrong statement, by the unfortunate replacement of the part (Hazrat Kuthum of Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf in Quba') by the whole (Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf/Quba').

This view is strengthened by Razin's statement apud al-Samhudi: 'He (the Prophet) alighted under a tree *then shifted* from there (thumma intaqala minhā) to the house of Kulthum'.^{45a} Added to other reports, it means that the Prophet, on reaching Quba', alighted at someone else's where people called on him, then, later on, shifted to Hazrat Kulthum's.^{45b} This view is further strengthened by the report carried by Ibn al-Jawzi from Hazrat Anas that the Prophet used to break his fast with fresh dates before saying his prayer and that if these were not available then with dried dates,⁴⁶ in conjunction with the report carried by Yahya from Muhammad b. Isma'il b. Mujammi' to the effect that when the Prophet alighted at Hazrat Kulthum's he asked for fresh dates (rutub) and that qanw containing half rutub and half rahw was brought to him.⁴⁷ At no time before arriving at Hazrat Kuthum's house is there a mention of dates or any other edible thing or even a demand for water. This suggests that the Prophet was fasting that day (because it was the day of Monday and/or 'Ashurah), and that he came to Hazrat Kulthum's house at about the time of sunset.

(C) Apart from Hazrat al-Bara's report, there is no difference of opinion on one point, that on reaching Yathrib the Prophet stayed in Quba' for some days before shifting to Medina. Happily, all reporters are further agreed that in Medina the Prophet stayed with Hazrat Abu Ayyub al-Ansari of Banu al-Najjar till the Masjid al-Nabawi was built near Hazrat Abu Ayyub's house. However, as stated earlier, there is a great difference of opinion regarding the period during which the Prophet stayed in Quba before coming to Medina.

Now, looking at the early reports, we notice that these reports can be classified into two categories, with variations within each category : (a) reports that mention a short stay of about four

days, and (b) reports that mention a longer stay of about a fortnight. Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas's report belongs to the former category while that of Hazrat Anas belongs to the latter category.

Now, on one other point there is complete unanimity : the day the Prophet came to Medina proper he performed the Jum'ah prayer in the habitation of Banu Salim.⁴⁰ That is, all those reporters who describe the Prophet's arrival in Medina in detail mention the Jum'ah prayer in Banu Salim. Thus, there can be no doubt about its being a fact that after his migration from Mecca, the Prophet came to Medina on a Friday. This circumstance in conjunction with the near consensus that Monday had been the day of arrival in Yathrib makes it clear that Monday was the day of arrival in Quba' and Friday the day of arrival in Medina. This explains the reports (i) that the Prophet stayed in Quba'/Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf for four days and (ii) that he stayed in Quba'/Banu 'Amr on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and then came to Medina on the following Friday.

In category (a) of reports, we have two variants. One of these, that of three days' stay, we have already discussed in connection with the report that on reaching Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf/Quba', the Prophet alighted at Hazrat Kulthum's. Our explanation was that the Prophet had alighted at Hazrat Sa'd's on arrival in Quba' and that he had stayed with Hazrat Kulthum for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, before coming to Medina for the first time after his migration. The other variant is that of five days' stay attributed by Ibn Hajar to Ibn Ishaq. Well, this statement is not found in the *Sirah*, and, as such, it is quite possible that Ibn Hajar was not referring to Ibn Ishaq the *sirah* writer. In any case, no matter who really said so, it is clear that by the word "nights" in this statement is really meant *nights* and not days, and that the statement implies that the Prophet reached Yathrib on the night of Monday. This gives five nights' stay in Quba' before coming to Medina.

The explanation for the category (a) of reports in general is equally obvious. The later narrators took the expression 'the Prophet came to Medina after 3/4/5 nights' stay with Hazrat Kulthum / Banu 'Amr' to mean that the Prophet shifted to Medina after this period whereas the original narrators had only meant to say that the Prophet came to Medina after so many day's stay in Quba' (or with Hazrat Kulthum) for the first time since his migration from Mecca.

We now come to category (b) of reports. Hazrat Aisha, and 'Urwah's reported statement has the expression biḍ'ah 'asharah laylah,⁴⁸ which means 13 to 19 days. According to our construction, the Prophet stayed in Quba' for 14 days, which is only a more precise formulation. Hazrat Anas gives 14 days' stay; on this our construction is based. Ibn Ishaq's statement in the *Sirah* that the Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf claim a longer period than four days is quite compatible with the construction. Ibn Ishaq's reported statement that the Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf claim 12 days' stay seems to me to be a copyist's error for 22 days, for, we do have reports to that effect. As for the report that the Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf claim 22 days' stay among them, it seems to me that what Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf had claimed was that the Prophet stayed with them till the 22nd of Rabi'I or that the Prophet shifted to Medina from them on the 22nd day of Hijrah by which they had meant the 22nd day since the Prophet's departure from Mecca (i.e. the Cave of Thawr in/near Mecca), which a later person supposed to mean the 22nd day since the Prophet's arrival among Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf.

(D). Although for our present purposes it is not necessary to discuss the question of the time of arrival, it is found to be necessary to make the construction credible since our construction is at variance with the accounts of such early and authoritative historians as Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Sa'd.

According to most writers, the Prophet reached Medina at the time of noon.⁴⁷ It has been reported that on hearing of the Prophet's departure from Mecca, the Muslims of Medina used to assemble at the back of al-Harrah after the Dawn prayers, wait for his arrival till the heat used to drive them away and that one day after they had waited and returned home a Jew espied the Prophet and shouted from his fortress that the person awaited had arrived whereupon the people took up their arms and joined the Prophet at the back of al-Harrah.⁵⁰ According to this report, the Prophet, along with the people, then turned to the right and alighted at Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf (in Quba').⁵¹ It seems that 'Medina' in these reports means Yathrib, for, (i) in the *Sirah*, Ibn Ishaq clearly says that the Prophet reached Quba' at midday; (ii) 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Uwaym b. Ṣā'idah gives the report from the elders of his qawm (which seems to mean *clan*), and since he belonged to Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf, it seems that the people who used to wait for the Prophet had belonged at least partly if not exclusively to Banu

'Amr b. 'Awf, (iii) the Prophet is clearly stated by 'Urwah to have turned to the right from al-Harrah and to have gone to Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf, and (iv) in any case, it appears to have been an anticipation of his arrival from Mecca, and we have concluded that the Prophet alighted at Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf on arrival from Mecca.

But, we have held that the Prophet reached Quba' before sunrise and that he came to Medina proper at noon. The explanation is that three events, (i) the Prophet's arrival in Yathrib and stay in Quba', (ii) the Prophet's first visit to, and hence arrival in, Medina, and (iii) the shifting of residence from Quba' to Medina, were jumbled together by later narrators so that, for example, the reception accorded to the Prophet at the back of al-Harrah on the occasion of his first visit to Medina has become the reception accorded to him on arrival in Yathrib.

From the earlier discussions of conflicting reports it has become clear that the days of arrival in Quba' and Medina could not have coincided and that we have every reason to suppose that Medina in the reports that the Prophet reached Medina on a Monday was meant to be taken as Yathrib. We have also seen that the day of the first visit to Medina and of shifting from Quba' to Medina could not have coincided. So, we have three separate occasions on which a reception could have been accorded, (i) on the day of arrival in Quba', (ii) on the day of arrival in Medina, and (iii) on the day of shifting residence from Quba' to Medina.

Now, it is very clear from the reports that the Medinese Muslims had not accompanied the Prophet to Quba' when the Prophet alighted at Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf. For, we are told that on arrival in Banu 'Amr the Prophet enquired as to where As'ad b. Zurarah was⁵² (obviously not finding him there), and that Hazrat As'ad visited the Prophet on Wednesday night having come (even at that time) wearing a veil.⁵³ We do not hear of any other Medinese Muslim visiting the Prophet in Quba'. Furthermore, we are told that the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, since the time of the battle of Bu'âth which had taken place some five years earlier, had been in a state of enmity, so much so that it was not possible for a Khazrajite to go to the habitation of an Awsite clan or for an Awsite to enter the habitation of a Khazrajite clan.⁵⁴

Given the above facts, various considerations make it clear that the reception reported by 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Uwaym b. Sa'idah and 'Urwah

b. al-Zubayr was accorded by the people of Medina on the occasion of the Prophet's first visit to Medina and not on the occasion of the Prophet's arrival in Yathrib, and, hence, that the later narrators have not given us reports as 'Abd al-Rahman or 'Urwah had really related. In other words, the report that the Prophet reached Medina at noon only means that he reached (i.e. came to) Medina at noon.

(i) It is clear from 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Uwaym's report that the people must have assembled near al-Harrah to await the Prophet's arrival on at least three days.⁵⁵ If this report relates to his arrival in Yathrib, it would mean that the news that the Prophet had departed from Mecca had reached the people of Yathrib at least three days before the Prophet himself reached there. But, in view of the fact that the Prophet does not appear to have stayed for even one day in any one place on his way to Yathrib, it seems most unlikely that the news of the Prophet's departure from the Cave or even from home could have reached Yathrib 4 days before his arrival. (We shall presently see that the Prophet's journey took 7 days. If so, the arrival of news 4 days before the Prophet's arrival becomes impossible.) On the contrary, if the report relates to the Prophet's arrival in Medina, i.e. his first visit to Medina, then the whole thing becomes very natural: The people of Medina hear of the Prophet's arrival in the highlands of Yathrib on a Monday, some of them rush to a point outside Medina near the lava tract and wait for the Prophet's anticipated visit till the heat of the sun drives them back; the Muslims of Medina do likewise on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; the Prophet crosses al-Harrah and reaches Medina on Friday at midday after the Medinese have returned to their homes; a Jew and then others shout that the Prophet is coming; people reassemble near the Harrah; the procession moves towards Banu Salim where the Prophet addresses them and performs Jum'ah prayers.

(ii) Whether or not the report in question relates to the Prophet's visit to Medina, it is clear that the day he came to Medina and offered Jum'ah prayer in Banu Salim soon after his arrival at the back of al-Harrah, he must have reached the back of al-Harrah at about the time of noon. The report that the Prophet came to (or reached) Medina at midday could easily be taken to mean that he reached Yathrib (or al-Harrah on the occasion of his arrival in Yathrib) at midday. We feel that this is what has happened. The contrary assumption that the Prophet reached Quba' at midday would oblige us to reject the reports of Abu Ma'shar, Mujammi'

b. Yaqub, and Ibn al-Barqi as spurious, for, these reports would become inexplicable.

(iii) It is in itself clear that the Prophet's arrival in Medina must have been awaited on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, if not on Monday, and it seems most likely that some people would come out to a place near al-Harrah in anticipation of the impending visit. If the report in question relates to the Prophet's arrival in Yathrib, then we have no report regarding such anticipatory move by the Ansar of Medina. That would be very surprising indeed.

(iv) Huyayy b. Akhtab, the chief of Banu Naḍīr, nay, of all the Jews of Yathrib, is reported by his daughter, Hazrat Safiyah, who later became the Prophet's wife, to have gone out to see the Prophet at the time of dawn.⁵⁶ It is out of the question that Huyayy would be informed of the Prophet's arrival only the next day. It is of course possible that he learned of it the same day but went to see the Prophet the next morning. However, Hazrat 'Abd Allah b. Salam, who was the most learned Rabbi of the Yathrib Jews, is reported to have said that a man came to him with the news of the the Prophet's arrival at a time when he had climbed up a palm tree and was gathering dates for his family.⁵⁷ This could not have happened at midday (recalling the reported heat in those days). This indicates the time of the morning or the evening. But, gathering fruits for the family in the evening seems to me to be quite unlikely. Moreover, in one report, he is said to have immediately called on the Prophet and embraced Islam and to have returned home (in Medina).⁵⁸ This could hardly have happened in the evening. Thus, it seems that Hazrat 'Abd Allah received the news at the time of dawn. If the Prophet had reached Yathrib at noon, then Hazrat 'Abd Allah would have to be assumed to have learned about it only the next day. But that appears to be quite improbable. The inference therefore is that both Hazrat 'Abd Allah and Huyayy received the news at the time of dawn soon after the Prophet's arrival in Yathrib and both went to Quba' immediately on receipt of this news.

(v) If the reported reception was given on the occasion of arrival in Yathrib, then the report errs in one of two respects : either only the Awsites had come to receive the Prophet (while the report implies that both Awsites and Khazrajites had come) or only some of those persons who had come

to receive the Prophet accompanied the Prophet to Quba' (whereas the report implies that all of them had accompanied the Prophet). For, when the Prophet reached Banu 'Amr, there was no Khazrajite elder with the Prophet, not even Hazrat As'ad b. Zurarah. If, however, we assume that the report relates to the day of arrival in Medina and that a later writer jumbled together reports regarding arrival in Yathrib and Medina, then the report becomes intelligible.

(E) According to all early writers, the Prophet shifted from Quba' to Medina the day he came to Medina for the first time.⁵⁹ We have held that the Prophet returned to Quba' from Medina and stayed there for another ten days before shifting to Medina. The reason is as follows.

(1) Hazrat Aisha and 'Urwah say that the Prophet stayed with Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf for more than 12 days,⁶⁰ and Hazrat Anas says that he stayed with them for 14 days.⁶¹ These are very authoritative reports. Reports regarding four days' stay in Banu 'Amr/Quba' (before coming to Medina) and coming to Medina on a Friday are equally authoritative. The two get reconciled if it is assumed that the Prophet returned to Quba' on the Friday in question and that later writers mistook the statement "the Prophet came to Medina after four days' stay with Banu 'Amr" to mean that he shifted to Medina after four days' stay in Quba.'

(2) A careful study of the early reports enables us to see that the two events (coming to Medina for the first time, and, shifting to Medina) occurred on different days. For example, according to a report from at least one Companion carried by Ibn Sa'd via al-Waqidi, there were 100 persons with the Prophet on the occasion of Friday prayers in Banu Salim,⁶² and, according to another report, this one from Hazrat Anas carried by Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal and Imam al-Bukhari, there were 500 persons including the Bedouins at the back of al-Harrah with the Prophet the day he finally dismounted in the courtyard of Hazrat Abu Ayyub's house and began to reside with him.⁶³

(3) The Prophet must have come to Banu Salim in Medina at about the time of Jum'ah prayer, that is, at about the time of noon. The ride through various habitations culminating in arrival in Banu Malik b. al-Najjar in early afternoon seems most implausible in the light of the reported heat that day. On the contrary, there is a suggestion that the Prophet left Quba' early in the morning the day he shifted from there which

places the ride through various habitations in the morning ending at Banu Malik quite some time before the noon.⁶⁴

(F) We now come to the day of arrival in Yathrib. We can say that there is a consensus on the day of Monday as the day of arrival in Medina / Quba'. Our construction is based on the assumption that in those reports in which Medina has been mentioned the original narrators had meant Yathrib or Ḥaram (Sanctuary of) Medina. Two considerations oblige this assumption. Firstly, in some reports, (arrival in) Quba' / Banu 'Amr b. 'Awf (on a Monday) has been specified, and, in any case, this was the place in Yathrib to which the Prophet had first come from Mecca. Secondly, all reporters who describe the Prophet's arrival in Medina — and this includes al-Waqidi's report (apud Ibn Sa'd) from such Companions as Hazrat Aisha and Hazrat Ali — mention the Jum'ah prayers in Banu Salim that day, which means that Friday was the day of arrival in Medina; hence, Monday must be taken to have been the day of arrival in Quba'.

Two other days have been mentioned as the day of arrival. (i) Al-Ya'qubi says that the Prophet reached Medina on Monday 8 Rabi' I, but that it was also said that he had reached there on Thursday 12 Rabi' I.⁶⁵ Al-Ya'qubi does not mention who had said so nor does he mention his source for this report. He is too late a writer for it to be supposed that such a saying must have originated with a Companion. In any case, even al-Ya'qubi did not accept this report. Hence, we are by no means obliged to accept or account for this report. Even so, I suppose that the person who originated this view had accepted the date of 12 Rabi' I and in his calculations found it to fall on a Thursday, presumably because he had worked out I.I.I.A.H. as corresponding to Thursday 15-7-622 A.D. (or the equivalent date in the Alexandrin or Jewish or some other calendar).⁶⁶

(ii) Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1070-1), Ibn Hajar (d. 852/1448-49), and al-Samhudi (d. 911/1505-6), etc. say that Hisham b. Muhammad b. al-Sa'ib al-Kalbi (d. 204/819-20) states that the Prophet reached Medina on Friday 12 Rabi' I. From their report, it appears as if Ibn al-Kalbi had given this date as the date of arrival in Yathrib from Mecca.⁶⁷ According to the above construction, the Prophet did reach Medina proper on a Friday but he came to Medina from Quba' and not from Mecca and further that he returned to Quba' that day. Even if we should not have found the report

from Mughalta'i which we shall presently mention, we would have been able to say that the above construction becomes compatible with Ibn al-Kalbi's reported statement if the Medina of his statement is taken to mean Medina proper and not Yathrib. Now, Mughalta'i reports Ibn al-Kalbi as having stated that the Prophet went *from Quba' to Medina* on Friday 12 Rabi 'I.⁶⁸ Thus our construction is not only compatible with Ibn al-Kalbi's statement but can be said to be based on his statement. In other words, Monday and Friday were the days of arrival in Yathrib (or, to be more exact, in Quba') and Medina, respectively, and the apparent conflict has arisen because the day of departure from Quba' had become (via confusion in the term Medina) the day of arrival in Quba'!

We shall now endeavour to determine how many days did the journey from Mecca to Yathrib (after leaving the Cave) take.

According to Muir, Burckhardt says that pilgrim caravens take 11 days, and if pressed for time 10 days, to reach Quba' from Mecca.⁶⁹ Richard Burton, travelling with a caravan, took 6 days to reach Medina from Yanbu' and according to his estimate they had to traverse 132 miles.⁷⁰ Again travelling with a caravan, Burton took 11 days to reach Mecca from Medina by the route adopted, which Burton estimated at 149 miles.⁷¹ The Prophet is reported to have left Medina with a large army on 10 Ramadan 8 A.H. and to have entered Mecca in triumph on 20 Ramadan.⁷² Thus, we may take Burckhardt's eleven days as the normal period of journey between Mecca and Medina.

We have concluded that the Prophet left the Cave of Thawr on a Monday and reached Quba' on another Monday. (In other words, we have come to the conclusion that Hazrat Ibn 'Abbas etc. who say that the Prophet departed from Mecca on a Monday and reached Medina on a Monday are to be taken to have meant that the Prophet departed from the Cave on a Monday and reached Yathrib on a Monday.) In view of the 11 days of normal journey between Mecca and Medina, it is clear that the Prophet must be assumed to have taken 7 or 14 days to reach Yathrib after leaving the Cave of Thawr. That we cannot take 21 or 28 or more days is clear from the fact that after leaving the Cave the Prophet is not said to have stayed in any one place for even one whole day,⁷³ but, if the journey took 21 days then the Prophet must have stayed for very many days in one

or more places on his way to Medina. So, we have to choose between seven days (four days less than the normal period) and fourteen days (three days more than the normal period).

Ibn Kathīr, who assumes that the Monday of departure must have been the day of departure from home, argues that since according to Ibn ‘Abbas the Prophet left Mecca and reached Medina on Mondays, it is clear that there must have been 15 days between the Prophet’s departure and arrival,⁷⁴ for, (Ibn Kathir argues) he stayed in the Cave for 3 days and took the route of the sea-coast which is longer than the usual (i.e. the caravan) route and on his way passed by (the encampment of) Umm Ma‘bad.⁷⁵ Certain other reports lend support to Ibn Kathir’s view: there are some early reports according to which the Prophet left Mecca in Safar and reached Medina in Rabi‘I (and so 2 weeks’ journey would be indicated if the arrival was on 12 Rabi‘I) and we have reports that Abu Bakr b. Hazm stated that the Prophet left Mecca on 26 Safar and a report that he said that the Prophet came to Medina on 13 Rabi‘I (and so, according to him, arrival was on the 17th day since the day of departure).

However, many facts go against Ibn Kathir’s view and favour the view that the journey took only 7 days.

(1) Abu Bakr b. Hazm is reported by Ibn Hajar (via Abu Sa‘id’s statement in his *Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā*) to have stated that the Prophet came to Quba’ on a Monday.⁷⁶ Since he reportedly gives 13 Rabi‘I as the date of arrival, it seems that he is to be taken to have stated that the Prophet reached Quba’ on Monday 13 Rabi‘I. He is reported to have given 26 Safar as the day of departure. If 13 Rabi‘I is a Monday then 26 Safar must have been a Saturday. So, in order that Monday be the day of departure either from Mecca proper or from the Cave, we must assume that Abu Bakr b. Hazm took the Prophet to have left his house on Saturday 26 Safar and the Cave on Monday 28 Safar or he took the Prophet to have left his house on Monday 21 Safar and the Cave on Saturday 26 Safar. If we assume that in giving 26 Safar as the date of departure, Ibn Hazm was giving the date of departure from home, then the stay in the Cave would be for one day (if departed during daytime on 26 Safar or the following night) or at most for two days (if departed during the night of 26 Safar). But we have authoritative reports that the Prophet stayed in the Cave for 3 days. If we assume

that Ibn Hazm had meant to give 26 Safar as the date of departure from the Cave, then there would be a stay of at least five days in the Cave. But this too conflicts with the cited reports.

(2) The report from Yazid b. Abu Habib that the Prophet left Mecca in Safar and reached Medina in Rabi'I is too vague and can mean any number of days equal to or more than two days.

(3) In a recently published book, there is a sketch of the traditional route between Mecca and Medina along with the route from Jiddah to Medina via 'Uṣfān and Rābiḡh, and the route of Hijrah via al-Kharrār (according to Ibn Ishaq's description).⁷⁷ As far as the routes shown are concerned, the route of Hijrah, at least on paper, is a little shorter than the route from Mecca to Medina via 'Uṣfan and Rabigh and considerably shorter than the traditional route between Mecca and Medina (via Wādī Laymūn). I have no idea of the actual terrain and so I am in no position to judge of the relative difficulties to be encountered on the various routes and the time required for traversing them. But, assuming that for the camel it little matters what manner of terrain it has to negotiate, one feels that the Hijrah route should not at all require a greater period than the traditional route; on the contrary, it should take less time if one were willing and able to cope with the extra difficulties, if any.

(4) According to a report carried by Al-Waqidi regarding Ghazwah Aḥdhāb, some Khuzā'ah riders went from Mecca to Medina in four days to inform the Prophet of the Qurayshite attack on Medina.⁷⁸ According to another report carried by Al-Waqidi, this one concerning the earlier expedition of Uḥud, Hazrat 'Abbas sent a man belonging to Banū Ghifār to the Prophet and asked him to deliver his letter (containing information about the impending attack by the Quraysh) in three days.⁷⁹ These reports may not be relevant to the case in hand since it is obvious that these messengers must have been riding horses, and, moreover, it is by no means impossible that some exaggeration may be involved. However, according to Perceval, as reported by Burnaby, a fugitive could reach Quba' from Mecca in 6 or 7 days.⁸⁰ According to Burton, dromedaries reach Mecca from Medina on the 5th day.⁸¹ Now we have no evidence whatsoever in early reports that the two camels bought and fed on the leaves of Samur (Gum-acacia tree) by Hazrat Abu Bakr specially for going to Medina, or the guide's camel, were not dromedaries. True, the route taken

by the Prophet may have been a longer one than the caravan route. But if it was a case of riding dromedaries, then even the longer route could have been traversed in 7 days. Hence it would be more in the fitness of things to suppose that the journey took 7 days rather than that it took 14 days. (Even Ibn Kathir includes the 3 days' stay in the Cave in his 15 days' period —by which he really meant 14 days.)

(5) We have a report that the Prophet reached Qudayd on a Tuesday, and, we have concluded that the Prophet left the Cave on a Monday. If so, the Tuesday in question is either the next day or the 9th day since the departure from the Cave. We have earlier argued that even four days appear to be too long a period for traversing the 60 miles or so between Mecca and Qudayd in view of the fact that the Prophet on leaving the Cave reportedly travelled for the whole night and the following day till noon, and, it appears from the tradition in question that he did likewise the following day.^{8 2} Hence, 9 days appear to be an impossibly large period for reaching Qudayd. If so, we must assume that the Prophet reached Qudayd on the Tuesday following the day of departure (a Monday). Now, if the Prophet left Qudayd in the evening of that Tuesday or on Wednesday night soon after the sunset then he would reach Medina on the 13th day since his departure from Qudayd if he is to reach Medina on the 15th day since his departure from the Cave. This would be a most implausible assumption. On the contrary, if it is assumed that the Prophet reached Yathrib on the 6th day since his departure from Qudayd, it would only be a normal affair, specially if we assume that the Prophet's party were riding dromedaries.

We thus conclude that the Prophet reached Quba' on the 12th day since his departure from home and on the 8th day since his departure from the Cave, and on the 6th / 7th day since his departure from Qudayd (depending upon whether he left after or before the sunset).

In the light of our conclusion above that the Prophet came to Medina for the first time after leaving his home in Mecca 4 days after his arrival in Quba', it follows that the Prophet came to Medina proper on the 16th day since the departure from his house in Mecca. In other words, we come to the conclusion that the Prophet left his house on a Thursday, reached the Cave of Thawr on Friday night, stayed in the Cave for 3 days, left the Cave on Monday night, was in Qudayd the following day (i.e.

Tuesday), reached Quba' the following Monday, visited Medina the following Friday and performed Friday prayers in the quarters of Banu Salim, and, came into residence in the quarters of Banu Malik b. al-Najjar on a Monday ten days after his first visit to Medina.

To summarise our discussion, we may say that there can be no reasonable doubt about the truth of the following itinerary :

1. Departure from home in Thursday (1st day of Hijrah).
Mecca.
2. Stay in the Cave of Thawr. Friday, Saturday and Sunday.
3. Departure from the Cave .. Monday (5th day of Hijrah).
4. At Umm Ma'bad's camp .. Tuesday (6th day of Hijrah).
5. Arrival in Yathrib Monday (12th day of Hijrah).
6. Stay in Quba' before visiting Medina. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. (4 days).
7. First visit to Medina since departure from the Cave. Friday (16th day of Hijrah).
8. Stay in Quba' 14 days. From Monday (12th day of Hijrah) to Sunday (25th day of Hijrah).
7. Shift to Hazrat Abu Ayyub's house. Monday (26th day of Hijrah).

NOTES SECTION I

1. See, *Al-Musnad*, Egypt, 1368/1949 (hereinafter to be cited as *Musnad*), Hadith no. 2506 (vol. IV, pp. 172-3). Cf. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372-3), *Al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah fī al-Ta'rīkh*, Egypt, 1351/1932, vol. III (hereinafter *Bidayah*), p. 177.
2. Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī*, Cairo, 1398/1978, vol. XV (hereinafter *Fath al-Bari*), p. 90, and al-Qaṣṣālānī, *Al-Mawāhib al-Ladunyah*, ed. Muṣṭafā Taj 1326/ 1907, vol. I (hereinafter *Mawahib*), p. 61, quote al-Hakim to this effect probably from al-Hakim's *Iklīl*, which is not available to me.
3. *Al-Istī'āb fī Ma'rifah al-Aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bajāwī, Cairo, Part I (hereinafter *Isti'ab*), p. 41.
4. *Al-Wafā bi-Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*, Lahore, 2nd. ed., 1397/1977, vols. I and II (hereinafter *Al-Wafa*), p. 238. I have not been able to determine the particulars of this Abu al-Hasan.

5. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 90 ; *Mawahib*, p. 61 ; Al-Samhudi, *Wafā al-Wafā bi Akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā*, ed. M. M. 'Abd al-Hamid, Egypt, ca. 1374/1955, vols. I and II (hereinafter *Wafa al-Wafa*), p. 240.
6. Ibn Hishām, *Sīrah Sayyidinā Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Wustenfēld, reprint, Frankfurt, 1961 (hereinafter *Sīrah*), pp. 327-328; Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Beirut, 1376/1957 (hereinafter *Tabaqat*), vol. I, p. 228; Al-Hākim, *Al-Mustadrak 'ala al-Ṣaḥīḥayn fī al-Ḥadīth*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1341 A.H. (hereinafter *Mustadrak*), vol. III, p. 5; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Wafa*, p. 237; *Bidayah*, p. 183; and, M.J. Kister, "On the Papyrus of Wab b. Munabbih", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. XXXVII (1974), p. 458. (Prof. Kister quotes PB (37) lines 4—6 of the Heidelberg papyrus.) [The *Sīrah* is Ibn Hisham's recension of Ibn Ishaq's biography of the Prophet.]
7. (a) *Sīrah*, pp. 327-328.
(b) *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. M. L. Krehl, Leiden, 1868 (hereinafter *Bukhari*), vol. III, p. 38; cf. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, Hyderabad (Deccan), 2nd. ed., 1369/1950, pp. 270-271.
8. E.g. Asmā', Aisha, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, Ibn 'Abbas, 'Urwah, Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, Ibn Ishaq, Mūsā b. 'Uqbah, Ibn Sa'd, al-Khwārizmī, al-Tabari, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, etc. See, *Sīrah*, pp. 329-330; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 229; *Bukhari*, vol. III, pp. 38 and 39; Muḥammad b. Jarīr, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Umam wa al-mulūk*, Egypt, 1st. ed., vol. II (hereinafter *Tabari*), p. 246; Ibn Athīr (d. 630/1233), *Uṣd al-Ghābah fī Ma'rīfah al-Ṣaḥābah*, Teheran: Al-Maktabah al-Islāmiyah, ca. 1346 A.H., vol. I (hereinafter *Uṣd al-Ghabah*), p. 21; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās al-Ya'murī, *Uyūn al-Athar fī Funūn al-Maghāzī wa al-Shamā'il wa al-Siyar*, Cairo, 1356 A.H., vol. I (hereinafter *Uyun*), p. 184; *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 239; and, *Mawahib*, p. 67.
9. E. g. Ibrāhīm Rif'at Pāshā, *Mir'ah al-Ḥaramayn*, Cairo, 1344/1925, vol. I, p. 61. (Ibrahim Pasha says that, riding a horse, he reached the Mount of Thawr from his camp in 2 hours.) Muḥammad Labīb al-Batanūnī (*Al-Rihlah al-Ḥijāzīyah*, 2nd. ed., Egypt, 1329 A.H., p. 55) says that Mount Thawr is at 2 hours from Mecca.
10. See, *Sīrah*, pp. 329-330; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 229; *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 38; *Uṣd al-Ghabah*, p. 21; *Bidayah*, pp. 181 and 191; *Uyun*, p. 184; *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 239; *Mawahib*, pp. 61 and 67; etc.
11. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 91.
12. *Kitāb al-Khamīs*, Bayazid State Library MS. no. 5251 (hereinafter *Khamis*), folio 157-B. (*Khamis* has been printed but is not available to me.)
13. Apud Ibn Sa'd (*Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 224) and al-Diyarbakiri (*Khamis*, folio 157-B). Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrizī (d. 845/1441) [*Imtā' al-Asmā'*, Cairo, 1941, vol. I. (hereinafter *Imta'*), p. 41] says that it is also said that the Prophet migrated in Safar.
14. (a) Apud Ibn Hajar (*Fath al-Bari*, p. 98), al-Samhudi (*Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 247) and al-Qastalani (*Mawahib*, p. 67).
(b) *Al-Wafa*, p. 236.
15. (a) *Isti'ab*, p. 41, and, *Fath al-Bari*, p. 79. This statement is not found in the *Sīrah*.
(b) *Fath al-Bari*, p. 79, and *Khamis*, folio 157-B.

- (c) *Isti'ab*, p. 41; *Usd al-Ghabah*, p. 21; *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98; and, *Khamis*, folio 163-A, quoting *al-Rawḍah* of al-Aqsheheri (b. 665/1266-7; d. ca. 731/1330-1). Both Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Ibn al-Athir mention al-Kalbi for this date, meaning, it is clear, Hisham and not his father.
16. *Imta'*, p. 41.
 17. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 232. 'Alā al-Dīn Mughaltā'i (689/1290—762/1360-1), in giving the same date, appears to be following Ibn Sa'd; see his *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilā Sirah al-Muṣṭafā wa Āthār min ba'dih min al-Khulafā'*, Bayazid MS. no. 5236 (hereinafter *Isharah*), folio 14-A. (*Isharah* has been printed but is not available to me).
 18. *Khamis*, folio 157-B.
 19. (a) *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98; *Khamis*, folio 163-B; *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 246; *Mawahib*, p. 67. Cf. *Isti'ab*, p. 41.
(b) *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1369/1950, p. 110.
 20. *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 246; *Khamis*, folio 163-A; and, Al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ 'alā al-Mawāhib al-Ladunyah*, vol. I, p. 407. Cf. Al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, Oxford (hereinafter *Maghazi*), p. 2, and, Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, vol. II, p. 6. Al-Waqidi and Ibn Sa'd say that it is also said that the Prophet reached Medina on 2 Rabi'I.
 21. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98; *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 247; *Khamis*, folio 163-B; and, *Mawahib* p. 67.
 22. (a) Apud Abu al-Rayhan al-Bayruni, *Al-Āthār al-Bāqīyah 'an al-Qur'ān al-Khālīyah*, ed. E. Sachau, reprint, Leipzig, 1923 (hereinafter *Athar*), p. 30.
(b) *Isti'ab*, p. 41, and *Khamis*, folio 157-B. [I have not been able to find out if any writer gives Abd al-Rahman's date of birth or death. However, he may be taken to have been born in ca. 150 A.H. For, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir (d. 236/850-1) and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (b. 172/788-9; d. 256/869-70) narrate from him, and his father, al-Mughīrah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, narrates from Abū Zannād (b. 56/684-5; d. 131/748-9). See, e.g., Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1st. ed., 1326 A.H., vol. VI, p. 276, and, vol. X, p. 266.]
(c) Apud Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'ab*, p. 32.
(d) *Tar'ikh al-Ya'qūbī*, Beirut, 1379/1960, vol. II (hereinafter *Ya'qubi*), p. 41.
 23. *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 246.
 24. *Athar*, p. 30.
 25. Al-Ṭabrasī, *I'lām al-Warā bi-A'lām al-Hudā*, Teheran, 1379 A.H., p. 18. Muḥsin al-Amin (*A'yān al-Shi'ah*, vol. II, Beirut, 3rd. ed. 1370/1950, p. 137) says that the Prophet reached Quba' on 11 or 12 Rabi'I.
 26. (a) *Al-Wafa*, p. 249.
(b) *Sirah*, pp. 333 and 415; *Bidayah*, p. 190; and, *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 246.
(c) *Fath al-Bari*, p. 79; *Khamis*, folio, 157-B.
(d) *Maghazi*, p. 2.
(e) *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98; *Khamis*, folio 157-B (quoting al-Aqsheheri's *al-Rawḍah*); and, *Mawahib*, p. 67.

- (f) *Tabaqat*, vol. II, p. 6 (cf. *Mawahib*, p. 67).
 In vol. II, at p. 6, Ibn Sa'd gives Monday 12 Rabi'I as the date of arrival and says that 2 Rabi'I is also given. (This is what al-Waqidi does.) Ibn Sa'd further says that there is a consensus on the date of 12 Rabi'I. However, in vol. I (of the edition quoted), at p. 233, the date given is 2 Rabi'I and the date of 12 Rabi'I is said also to have been reported. (The same is true of the Leiden edition of *Tabaqat*.) This is clearly a copyist's error, for, in the same narration, earlier at p. 232, Ibn Sa'd gives 5 Rabi'I as the date of departure. (Al-Zurqani takes al-Qastalani to have quoted Ibrahim b. Sa'd and not Muhammad b. Sa'd; see, *Sharḥ 'alā al-Mawāhib al-Ladunyah*, vol. I, p. 407. This is quite possible, since al-Qastalani appears to be repeating Ibn Hajar.)
- (g) *Tabari*, vol. II, p. 248
27. *Tabaqat*, vol. II, p. 6.
 28. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98; *Mawahib*, p. 67; *Khamis*, folios 163-A and B.
 29. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98, and, *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 247.
 30. *Musnad*, Hadith no. 2506; *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 40; *Sirah*, p. 415; *Maghazi*, p. 2; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 233, and, vol. II, p. 6; *Tabari*, p. 248.
 31. *Ya'qubi*, vol. II, p. 41.
 32. *Isti'ab*, p. 41; *Usd al-Ghabah*, p. 21; *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 247; and, *Mawahib*, p. 67.
 33. See, e.g., *Sirah*, pp. 333 and 415; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 233; *Tabari*, p. 248; *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 40 (cf. *Bidayah*, p. 196); *'Uyun*, pp. 186 and 192.
 34. (a) *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98, and, *Mawahib*, p. 67.
 (b) *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98, and, *Isharah*, folio 16-A.
 35. *Wafa al-Wafa*, pp. 244-245.
 36. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, vol. IV, p. 366; *Musnad*, Hadith no. 3; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (204/820—261/875), *Saḥīḥ Muslim*, Egypt, 1375/1955 (hereinafter *Muslim*), Hadith no. 2009; *Mustadrak*, vol. III, pp. 12-13; and, Abu Nu'aym, *Dalā'il*, p. 275; *Al-Wafa*, pp. 249—250; etc.
 37. See e.g., *Sirah*, pp. 333, 353 and 354; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, pp. 233—236; *Bukhari*, vol. III, pp. 40 and 48; *Mustadrak*, p. 8; *Fath al-Bari*, pp. 93 and 98—100; *Bidayah*, pp. 197-198; *Wafa al-Wafa*, pp. 244—250.
 38. *Sirah*, p. 334; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 233.
 39. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 118 (for Ibn Hazm); *Sirah*, p. 334; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 233.
 40. E.g., *Fath al-Bari*, pp. 98-99; *Wafa al-Wafa*, pp. 247-248 and 250. Mughalta'i quotes al-Dūlābī (244/839--310/923) as having stated that it was also said that the Prophet stayed in Quba' for 3 days; see, *Isharah*, folio 15-B.
 41. E.g. *Sirah*, p. 335; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 236; and, *Isharah*, Folio 15-B.
 42. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 99; *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 248. Cf. *Isharah*, Folio, 15-B.
 43. E.g., *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 40; *'Uyun*, pp. 186 and 193-194; *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 248.
 44. *Bidayah*, p. 198; cf. *Sirah*, p. 335.
 45. *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 45; Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, *Al-Iṣṣābah fī Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥābah*, Cairo, ca. 1970, vol. I, p. 126; al-Dhahabi (d. 748/1374), *Kitāb Tadhkirah al-Huffāz*, Hyderabad (Deccan), 2nd. ed., 1375/1955, vol. I, p. 44.
 46. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 235; *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 48. Cf. *Bidayah*, p. 198.
 47. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 99; *Bidayah*, p. 198. Cf. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98, and *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 248.
 48. *Athar*, p. 330.
 49. *Al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1375/1954, vol. I, p. 255. (See, *infra*, Note 2 of Sec. III.)
 50. "Notes on the Arab Calendar Before Islam" (tr. L. Nobiron), *Islamic Culture*,

- XXI (1947), pp. 135—153; especially, p. 152.
51. Maḥmūd Bāshā al-Falākī, *Kitāb Natā'ij al-Afhām fī Taqwīm al-'Arab qabla al-Islām* (tr. Aḥmad Dhakī Āfandī), Cairo, 1305 A.H. (The original, in French, is not available to me.)
 52. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
 53. *Ibid.*, pp. 10—13.
 54. "The NASI, the Hijrah Calendar and the Need of Preparing a New Concordance for the Hijrah and the Gregorian Calendars," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, XVI (1968), pp. 1—18; see, pp. 1-2.
 55. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
 56. *Reconstruction of Islamic Chronology*, Patna, 1947, pp. 22—41.
 57. Perceval, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
 58. Isāḥq al-Nabī 'Alawī, "Wāqī'āt-e-Sirat-e-Nabawī men Tawqīti Taḍād awr Uskā Ḥall", *Burhān* (Delhi), vol. LII. (1964) and LIII (July-December 1964); see, esp. LII, pp. 295-296, and LIII, pp. 20—22.
 59. *Ibid.*, LIII, pp. 4—14 and 203—207.
 60. *Ibid.*, LIII, p. 207.
 61. *Ibid.*, LIII, pp. 9—12.

SECTION II

1. Ibn Hisham, *Sirah*, p. 332. Cf. *Mustadrak*, p. 8.
2. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 147, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azraqī (d. ca. 250/864-5), *Akhbār Makkah*, Mecca, 1352 A.H., vol. I, p. 111.
3. *Muslim*, pp. 819-820: In some reports from Hazrat Abū Qatādah via 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'bad al-Zammānī via Ghaylān b. Jarir (d. 129/746-7), the Prophet was asked regarding the fasts of Mondays and Thursdays, while in other reports he was asked only regarding the fasts of Mondays; Shu'bah (b. ca. 82/701-2; d. 160/777) who narrates from Ghaylan with the above isnād, says in one report that in the (earlier) report both the Monday and the Thursday had been mentioned but he had refrained from mentioning Thursday because he regarded that as fanciful. However, Ibn al-Jawzi has a section on 'The Prophet's Fasting on Mondays and Thursdays' and carries reports from Hazrat Aisha, Hazrat Hafsa, Hazrat Usamah b. Zayd, and Hazrat Abu Hurayrah indicating that the Prophet used to fast on Thursdays and Mondays; see *Al-Wafa*, pp. 514-515. (Ibn al-Jawzi, however, does not mention his source or sources.) Ibn al-Jawzi carries another report, this one from Hazrat Ibn 'Umar, that the Prophet used to fast on the first Monday of a month, the following and the next Thursday (p. 514).
4. *Sirah*, p. 324 (cf. Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, pp. 156-157); *Tabari*, pp. 242-244.
5. See, Notes 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Section I. That the Prophet left his house the day the Meeting was held is clear from Hazrat Aisha's statement carried by Ibn Ishaq (*Sirah*, p. 327) and Imam al-Bukhari (*Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 38).
6. If the departure from the Cave took place on 1 Rabi' I and arrival in Medina on Monday 12 Rabi' I, then 1 Rabi' I, and hence the day of departure from the Cave, must have been a Thursday.
7. Al-Qastalani (*Mawahib*, p. 61) attributes the construction to al-Hakim. Ibn Hajar (*Fath al-Bari*, p. 90) appears to be suggesting this construction himself.
8. E.g. Wustefeld—Mahler'sche, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, Wiesbaden, 1961 (hereinafter *Wustefeld*), p. 2.
9. E.g. Ibn al-Kalbi apud Ibn Hajar (*Fath al-Bari*, p. 98); 'Abd al-Malik al-Madhhaji

- apud Ibn Sa'd (*Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 232); and, Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Maqrizi (766/1365—845/1441), *Imta'*, p. 41.
10. Ibn Ishaq apud Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (*Isti'ab*, p. 41) and Ibn Hajar (*Fath al-Bari*, p. 79); al-Umawi apud many writers (see, *Fath al-Bari*, p. 79, *Khamis*, folio 157-B, *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 239, and, *Mawahib*, p. 61); Hisham al-Kalbi apud many writers (see, *Isti'ab*, p. 41; *Usd al-Ghabah*, p. 21; *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98; *Khamis*, folio 163-A, and, *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 247).
 11. See, e.g. *Wustenfeld*, p. 2.
 12. According to Ibn Hajar (*Fath al-Bari*, p. 91), Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal and al-Hakim carry the tradition from Ṭalḥah al-Naḍarī but that in Imam Ahmad's report there is no mention of the Cave. Cf. Al-Maqrizi, *Imta'*, p. 41. Al-Maqrizi says that there is a mursal tradition (i.e. a tradition in which a Ṭābi'i directly reports from the Prophet without stating the name of the Sahabi from whom he got the report) that the Prophet stated that he had lived in the Cave for more than 12 days.
 13. This is reported by Ibn Hajar (*Fath al-Bari*, p. 91).
 14. See, *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 232; *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98; *Imta'*, p. 41.
 15. *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 232. Al-Maqrizi (*Imta'*, p. 41) also says so, but I suppose, only on Ibn Sa'd's authority.
 16. Al-Ḥamadānī (d. 334/945-6) gives 59 miles between Qudayd and Mecca. (See his *Kitāb Ṣifāh Jazīrah al-'Arab*, Egypt, 1953, p. 185.) Ibn Khurradādhbih (b. ca. 205/820-1; d. ca. 280/893-4) in his *Kitāb al-Masālik al-Mamālik*, Leiden, 1306/1889, gives two mileages between Qudayd and Mecca. At one place (pp. 131&187) he gives 56 miles, and at another place (pp. 130-131) he gives 73 miles.
 17. See, *Tabaqat*, vol. IV, p. 365; *Musnad*, Hadith no. 3; *Bukhari*, vol. II, p. 408, and, vol. III, p. 44; and, *Muslim*, Hadith no. 2009.
 18. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 232; Verses quoted by Ibn Ishaq (*Sirah*, p. 330). Verses quoted by Ibn Sa'd (*Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 229) have Rafīqayn qālā khaymatay Umm Ma'bad, i.e. the two companions who took their siesta in Umm Ma'bad's (two) tents.
 19. Apart from the reports that the Prophet left his house at night, which we do not accept, we have a report from an early and a very reliable scholar, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣarī, that the Prophet reached the Cave at night: see, e.g. *Bidayah*, p. 179.
 20. Hazrat Abū Ma'bad al-Khuzā'i says that the Prophet left Mecca (meaning the Cave, since 'Amir and the guide are also mentioned as accompanying the Prophet) for Medina at night. (See, *Mustadrak*, pp. 9 and 11; *Bidayah*, p. 192.) 'Abd al-Malik al-Madhaji and Ibn al-Kalbi, as stated before, say that the Prophet left the Cave of Thawr on Monday night....
 21. See, *supra*, Note 17. However al-Maqrizi (*Imta'*, p. 41) says that the departure took place a little before the dawn. He quotes no authority. In any case, if the Monday night is taken to have been spent in the Cave, then four nights would have been spent in the Cave, whereas, we have authoritative reports that the Prophet stayed in the Cave for 3 nights. (Even assuming that 'nights' here mean 'dies', it would not be correct to say that 3 days had been spent if 3 days and a whole night had been spent, and it would be very strange indeed to say that 3 nights had been spent — no matter whether nights or dies be meant — if 4 nights had been spent.)
 22. *Bukhari*, vol. III, pp. 38 and 39 (cf. Abu Nu'aym, *Dala'il*, pp. 271 and 272, and, *Bidayah*, p. 184); *Tabari*, p. 246.
 23. The construction being presented here is a summarised version of the construction presented by us in our article "Rasūl Allāh ṣalla Allāh 'alayh wa sallam ki Madinah men Āmad" (The Prophet's Arrival in Medina), *Fikr-o-Nazar*, vol. XXI (1983-84), No. 6 (January 1984), pp. 40—64.
 24. References are unnecessary at this juncture since these would be supplied in the ensuing discussion.

25. *Tabaqat*, vol. IV, p. 366; *Musnad*, Hadith no. 3; *Bukhari*, vol. II, p. 408, and, vol. III, p. 44; *Muslim*, Hadith no. 2009; etc.
26. *Tabaqat*, vol. IV, p. 364.
27. *Sirah*, pp. 316—323; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 226.
28. *Mustadrak*, p. 8.
29. *Sirah*, pp. 332-333.
30. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 93.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Sirah*, p. 354; *Al-Wafa*, p. 57. Cf. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 118. (According to Ibn Hajar, Abu Bakr b. Hazm had stated that the Prophet reached Quba' on a Monday.)
33. *Sirah*, p. 353.
34. *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 40. This statement could be a part of the tradition from Hazrat Aisha.
35. *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 235; *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 48.
36. *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 245.
37. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 118.
38. *Sirah*, p. 334; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 233.
39. *Al-Wafa*, p. 251.
40. *Sirah*, p. 335; *Maghazi*, p. 2; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 236; *Tabari*, p. 249; *Al-Wafa*, p. 251; *Fath al-Bari*, p. 100.
41. *Fath al-Bari*, pp. 98-99; *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 247; *Sharh al-Mawahib*, p. 407.
42. *Musnad*, Hadith no. 2506.
43. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 100.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 98. (It is clear that 'and the day of departure' has been left out from Ibn Hajar's statement about Ibn Hibban.)
45. (a) *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 244.
(b) For example, 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Uwaym's report in the *Sirah* (p. 334): on hearing the Jew, people went out to greet the Prophet who was (sitting) in the shade provided by a palm-tree.
46. *Al-Wafa*, p. 517. Al-Samhudi (*Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 72) mentions a similar report given by al-Bazzār, but he does not say on whose authority al-Bazzar had given that report.
47. *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 245.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 248; *Bukhari*, Vol. III, p. 40.
49. See, e.g. *Sirah*, p. 333; *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 40; *Tabari*, vol. II, p. 248; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Al-Durar fi Ikhtisār al-Maghāzī wa al-Siyar*, 1386/1966, p. 91; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, p. 190; *Fath al-Bari*, p. 98.
50. *Sirah*, pp. 333-334; *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 233; *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 40.
51. *Sirah*, p. 334; *Bukhari*, III, p. 40.
52. *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 249.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*
55. In 'Urwah's report it is even clearer : They used to come to the Harrah *each morning*. (In Arabic, the plural is used for three or more objects.)
56. *Sirah*, p. 354.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 353.
58. *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 42.
59. E.g. *Sirah*, p. 335, and, *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 236.
60. *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 248; *Bukhari*, vol. III, p. 40.
61. *Tabaqat*, I, p. 235; *Bukhari*, III, p. 48.
62. *Tabaqat*, I, p. 236.
63. *Bidayah*, pp. 196-97 (quoting Ibn Hanbal); *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 255 (quoting Al-Bukhari's *Al-Ta'rikh al-Ṣaghīr* as well as Razin).
64. Since the Prophet is reported to have left Quba' in the company of all the Muhajirs

- and a group of the Ansar (*Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 258), having sent for the chiefs of Banu al - Najjar (*Bukhari*, vol. III, pp. 42 and 48), and 500 persons including Bédouins are said to have gathered at the back of the Harrah. This could hardly happen late in the evening since the Muhajirs had to go back to Quba'. Nor could it happen in the late forenoon or the afternoon in view of the scorching heat those days.
65. *Ta'rikh al-Ya'qūbī*, vol. II, p. 41.
 66. In the Christian calendar, the day commences at the lower transit of the sun, i.e. at midnight. In the Muslim calendar the day commences with the sunset. I.I.I. A.H. begins with Friday night, i.e., the night between Thursday and Friday. In the Christian sense, I.I.I. A.H. commences with the sunset on Thursday 15.7.622 A.D., some 6 hours before the commencement of their Friday at midnight.
 67. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'ab*, p. 41; Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah*, p. 21; al-Aqsheheri apud al-Samhudi (*Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 247).
 68. *Isharah*, folio 17-A.
 69. W. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet, and History of Islam*, London, 1858, vol. II, p. 246, quoting Burckhardt, p. 316. Cf. Burnaby, *Elements of the Jewish and Muhammadan Calendars*, London, 1901, p. 373. According to Burnaby, Burckhardt states that the caravens taking the direct route take ten or twelve days in reaching Medina (from Mecca).
 70. Richard Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Medinah and Meccah*, reprint, New York, 1964, vol. I, pp. 247—281.
 71. Op. cit., vol. II, pp. 58—154.
 72. E.g. Ibn Ishaq (*Sirah*, pp. 810 and 840) and Ibn Sa'd (*Tabaqat*, vol. II, pp. 135 and 137).
 73. On leaving the Cave, the Prophet kept on riding during the rest of that night and the next day till it was noon, rested for a while, then took to the road again. (*Tabaqat*, vol. IV, p. 365; *Bukhari*, vol. II, p. 408; *Musnad*, Hadith No. 3; *Muslim*, Hadith No. 2009; etc.) Stayed for a very short while at Umm Ma'bad's encampment (*Mustadrak*, pp. 9—11. Verses quoted by Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Sa'd; see, *Sirah*, p. 330, and *Tabaqat*, vol. I, p. 229). Met Surayh while on the move. (*Bukhari*, vol. III, pp. 39-40). Met Hazrat Buraydah while on the move, and, it appears, kept on riding during the last night of the journey. (Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Wafa*, p. 247. Cf. al-Samhudi, *Wafa al-Wafa*, p. 243. Al-Samhudi, in giving this report from Ibn al-Jawzi, says that Ibn al-Jawzi reports it from al-Bayhaqi; but, in *Al-Wafa*, Ibn al-Jawzi gives this directly from Hazrat Buraydah's son 'Abd Allah.)
 74. Ibn Kathir means that the day of arrival must have been the 15th day since the day of departure.
 75. *Bidayah*, p. 190.
 76. *Fath al-Bari*, p. 118.
 77. Afzal al-Rahman, *Muhammad: Encyclopaedia of Seerah*, London, 1401/1981, p. 27.
 78. *Maghazi*, p. 444.
 79. Ibid., pp. 203-4.
 80. Burnaby (op. cit., p. 372) states that Perceval says that even a fugitive cannot go from Mecca to Medina in less than 6 or 7 days.
 81. R. Burton (op. cit., vol. II, p. 50) says that the tayyarah is a dromedary caravan which usually travels by the al-Khafb road and reaches Mecca from Medina on the 5th day.
 82. The tradition in the *Musnad* of Imam Ibn Hanbal is quite explicit on the point. After travelling for the whole night and the following day till noon and then taking a siesta behind a rock, the Prophet asks Hazrat Abu Bakr, 'Is it now time for travelling?' (*Musnad*, Hadith No. 3). In all the reports, the Prophet takes to the road after the mid-day rest.